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VERBAL INTERACTION OF THE BONGANDO IN CENTRAL ZAIRE: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THEIR ADDRESSEE-UNSPECIFIED LOUD SPEECH

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ABSTRACT Daily verbal interaction of the Bongando, Bantu farmers in central Zaire was studied. Their speech forms were classified into four categories by two criteria: non-loud/loud, and addressee-unspecified/addressee-specified. Frequency of speeches in each category was measured by the time sampling method, and contents of them were analyzed.

In these categories, I paid attention to "Addressee-Unspecified Loud speech (AUL speech)." This speech was uttered frequently, but completely differed from conversation. That is, (1) no "organizing device" of usual conversation, such as turn-taking system was confirmed, and (2) it was not certain that the speech was surely heard by others, and the people usually kept "ritual indifference" to the speech.

By AUL speech, Bongando people manifested their own opinion, expressed complaints, and accomplished "feeling of co-presence." AUL speech was uttered as the speaker's own accord, regardless of the listeners' circumstances. Even so, inconsistency between the speaker and the listeners did not occur, because AUL speech was "cast" from the speaker, and was not certainly caught by others. This property ("castness") was thought to be an important method, which placed unrestrained AUL speech into the interaction system of the Bongando.

Key Words: Verbal interaction; Addressee-Unspecified Loud speech (AUL speech); "Castness" of speech; Bongando; Bantu farmer.

INTRODUCTION

Speech is an important medium for human social interactions. Sociolinguists (e.g., Gumperz & Hymes, 1974) and conversation analysts (e.g., Sacks et al., 1974) have conducted studies on speech in everyday life. These studies took into consideration the social context of speech, unlike classical linguistics in which only the "static" written form of speech is analyzed.

As ways of clarifying the meaning of speech in human social interactions, however, the former two disciplines also have their shortcomings. Sociolinguists ultimately aim to explain the social structure of each society, and speech is regarded only as part of the framework of the structure. On the other hand, conversation analysts intend to study the structure of conversation itself, but their studies have been mainly conducted in North American or West European industrialized societies. Moreover, they focus only on conversation out of the various styles of human speech.

This study presents to analyze "Addressee-Unspecified Loud speech"⁽¹⁾ (AUL

speech) of the Bongando in central Zaire. During my stay in the Bongando land, I was impressed by their frequent use of AUL speech. Even when I stayed alone in a house, others' speeches could be heard almost all of the time. AUL speech differs from conversation, which has been studied by conversation analysts. In style, it has no "organizing device" of conversation, such as the turn-taking system (Sacks et al., 1974). In function, many AUL speeches do not work as *in situ* social acts. AUL speech is a new subject for the study of verbal interactions.

In this report, the frequency, form, and contents of speech of the Bongando, including AUL speech, are described. On the basis of these analyses, first, the meaning of AUL speech in the Bongando society is considered, and second, the variety and evolution of human verbal interactions are discussed.

STUDY AREA AND PEOPLE ⁽²⁾

The Bongando are Bantu farmers inhabiting the eastern part of the Region d'Equateur and the western part of the Region du Haut-Zaire of the Republic of Zaire (Fig. 1). This ethnic group is a branch of the Mongo cluster (Murdock, 1959). The population is estimated to be 450,000–500,000. They usually speak Longondo,⁽³⁾ their native language, but in certain situations, those over six years old speak Lingala, one of the four main intertribal languages of Zaire.

They live in the tropical rain forest (300–400 m above sea level) in the Zaire Basin. The daily maximum and minimum temperatures are about 30°C and 20°C throughout the year. The annual rainfall is about 2,000 mm (Vuanza & Crabbe.

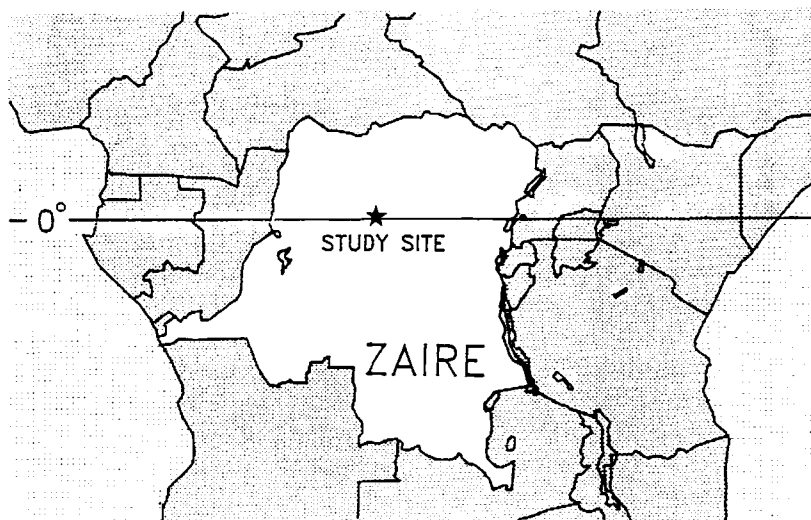


Fig. 1. Study site.

1975).

The main crop is cassava. Bananas, yams, maize, rice and some vegetables are also cultivated. The only cash crop is coffee, which was introduced in the 1960's. Hunting, fishing, and gathering are also important subsistence activities. They also keep livestock, including goats, pigs, chickens, and ducks.

The Bongando's settlements extend along the road (Fig. 2). Houses are scattered in an open area beside the road, 10–30 m wide, called *láánjámbánjá* (Fig. 3). The distance between two houses usually does not exceed 20 m. Secondary forest stretches outside the *láánjá*, and cassava and coffee fields are scattered within it. Behind the secondary forest, there are vast areas of primary forest, through which rivers and small streams run.

The Bongando have a patrilineal lineage system. Their marital residence is virilocal. Usually members of the same lower lineage level live closely (Fig. 3). The

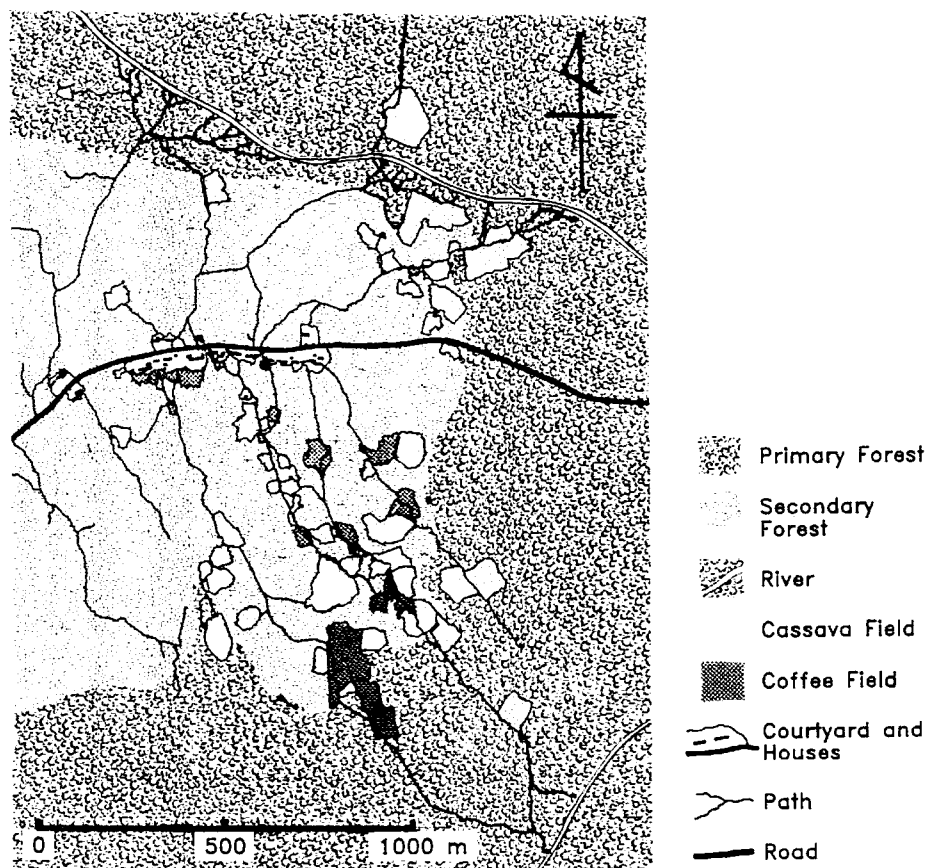


Fig. 2. Map of the study village, field, and forest.

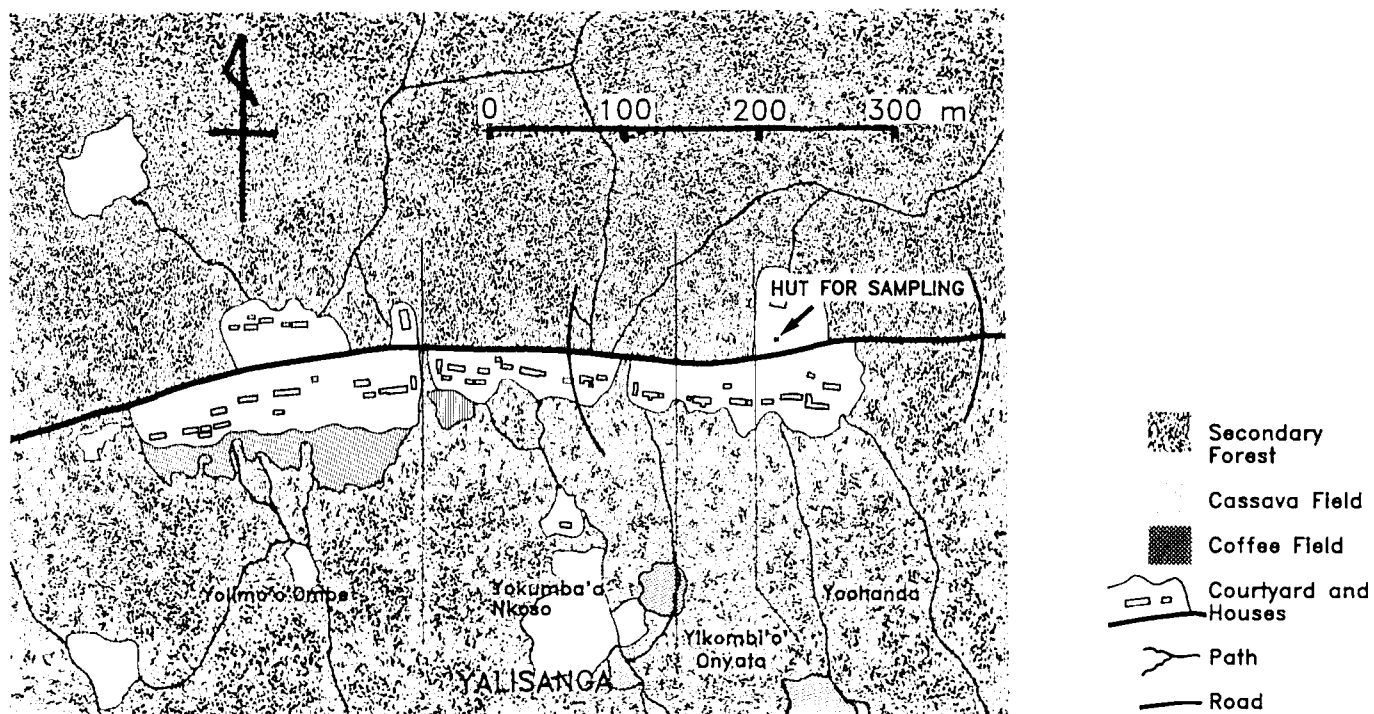


Fig. 3. Map of the study village and lineage segmentation. Vertical lines show the segmentation of four *losombos* which comprise an upper lineage, Yalisanga. The hut for the sampling of background speech, and the area from which I could hear background speeches is shown.

lineage system is stratified into six levels, from the extended family to the Bongando ethnic group itself. I will explain first and second levels for this report. The minimum lineage is the extended family (*elombolbilombo*) of 2–20 members. Several extended families comprise a lower lineage level called *losombo/nsombo* of 10–100 members. In a *losombo*'s area, there is a small hut which is also called *losombo*. In this report, I call it the “*losombo* hut.”

Social activities of adult women and those of adult men differ. Women ordinarily stay at their house or adjacent *lâánjá*, and spend their time in cooking, eating, and chatting. They leave the house mainly to work at the stream or in the field. In contrast, men frequently go to the *losombo* hut or to an other's house, and chat, eat, smoke, or drink (Kimura, in preparation).

METHODS

Field research was conducted in October–December 1986, June 1987–February 1988, and June 1988–February 1989. I stayed in the Groupement d'Iyondje, Zone de Djolu, Région d'Equateur. This Groupement is adjacent to Groupement de Wamba, in which Japanese scientists have studied pygmy chimpanzees (*Pan paniscus*) since 1973 (Kano, 1980).

For communication, I usually used Lingala, but in the latter half of the research, Longondo was also used.

Besides general observations of speech, I collected three kinds of data systematically, as follows.

I. Time Sampling of Background Speech

Inside the houses or in the *lâánjá*, it was frequently possible to hear the distant speech of others. I call this “background speech.”⁽⁴⁾

I made a hut in the *lâánjá* (Fig. 3), sat there, and recorded attributes (loudness, direction of address, and speaker's age and sex) of background speech.⁽⁵⁾ It was not practical to use a tape recorder because some speeches heard *in situ* were too quiet to be recorded.

I used a modified “instantaneous sampling” method (Martin & Bateson, 1986). The attributes of background speech were recorded in the first second of every 15 seconds, which comprised one sampling unit (Fig. 4). Usually in the instantaneous sampling, data of an instant are recorded. However, I set a one second period as the “sampling window,” because in some cases I could not accurately record the auditory impression in an instant. Timing of sampling was regulated by beeps from a tape recorder.

Speakers were classified as children (under 15 years old), adult men, and adult women. Seven adult men, 11 adult women, and 9 children lived in the area from which I could hear the background speech (within a radius of about 150 m, Fig. 3). Visitors who came into this area were frequent.

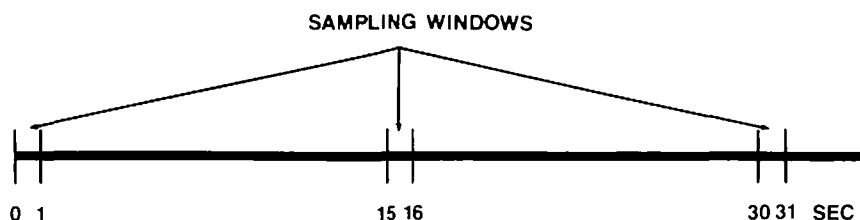


Fig. 4. Timing of sampling.

Speech was classified into four types (A, B, C, and D) by two criteria; non-loud/loud, and addressee-unspecified/addressee-specified (Fig. 5). The contents of the speeches were disregarded. The "non-loud speech" included speeches not louder than the Bongando's usual conversation.⁶⁾ The "addressee-specified speech" was distinguished by (1) the turn-taking of two or more speaker-listeners, or by (2) the addressing of the participant(s) by calling his/her name in the speech. Such context of speech was traced continuously even outside the "sampling window." When the speech could not be classified clearly, for example, speech was judged to be addressee-unspecified, and between loud and non-loud, I wrote "A/C" on the field notebook, and added 0.5 sampling unit to each type, in the analysis.

In the sampling session, when someone approached me to talk, sampling was stopped. Five or more simultaneous speeches were out of my recognition ability,

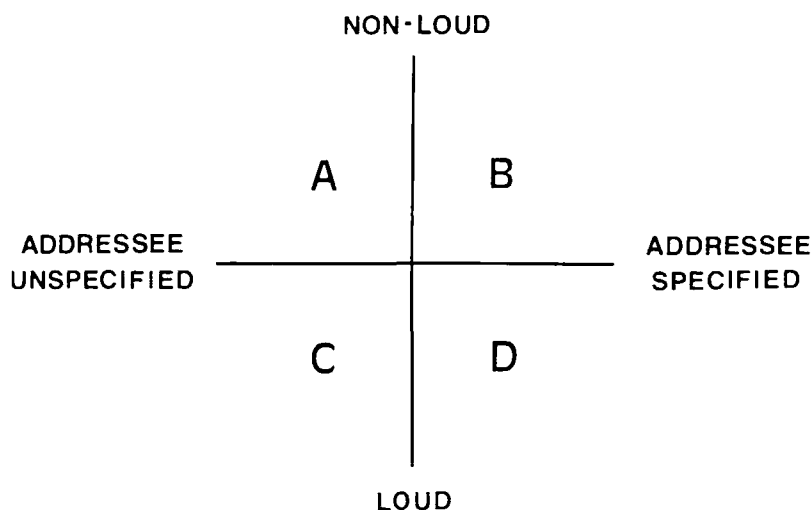


Fig. 5. Classification of speech types.

therefore they could not be recorded completely. Some non-loud speeches superimposed by loud speeches could not be recorded. No distinction was made between multiple speeches that were spoken as one conversation, and those that were not.

Samples were collected from November 1988 to February 1989. One sampling session was 10–40 minutes long, and a total of 41 hours 24 minutes (9,937 sampling units) was collected. Sampling sessions were sub-totaled in the time period of one hour interval since 4:00 to 22:00, i.e., 4:00–5:00, 5:00–6:00, and so on to 21:00–22:00. All of them exceeded 3 hours.

II. "Conversation Analysis" Method

Some speech scenes were recorded using a portable video camera. Recorded persons paid attention to the camera only at the beginning. My Bongando informant LB listened to the playback, and transcribed the speeches. He explained to me the details of the transcription, and I translated it into Japanese. After that, I wrote down the parameters of conversation analysis such as loudness, duplications, and pauses of the speech.

Note that even though these data were analyzed in the style of "conversation" analysis, they include speeches which did not have the characteristics of conversation.

III. Recording of the Content of Loud Speech

LB recorded the contents of loud speeches from May to July, 1988. Throughout this period he carried a field notebook, and recorded the time, the speaker, the listeners (if they could be specified), and a summary of the contents. He recorded 307 episodes of loud speech, and 68 episodes of them were classified as AUL speech.

RESULTS

I. Village Filled with Background Speech

The frequency of background speech in a day is shown in Fig. 6. Percentage of time samples in which 0, 1, 2, and over 3 speeches were heard simultaneously is shown. From 22:00–4:00, the village (the area of *lánjá* and houses) was silent. The frequency of speech increased from 4:00 to 7:00, remained fairly constant from 7:00 to 18:00, and decreased from 18:00 to 22:00. In the daytime (7:00–18:00), at least one speech was heard in almost every sample (94.7%), and two or more speeches were heard simultaneously in about half of the samples (53.1%). The frequency of background speech increased in the morning (near 7:00) and in the afternoon (14:00–17:00), because in these periods, many people together stayed in the village, and frequency of speech by each person increased (Kimura, in preparation). The frequency of each speech type is analyzed in Sections III and IV.

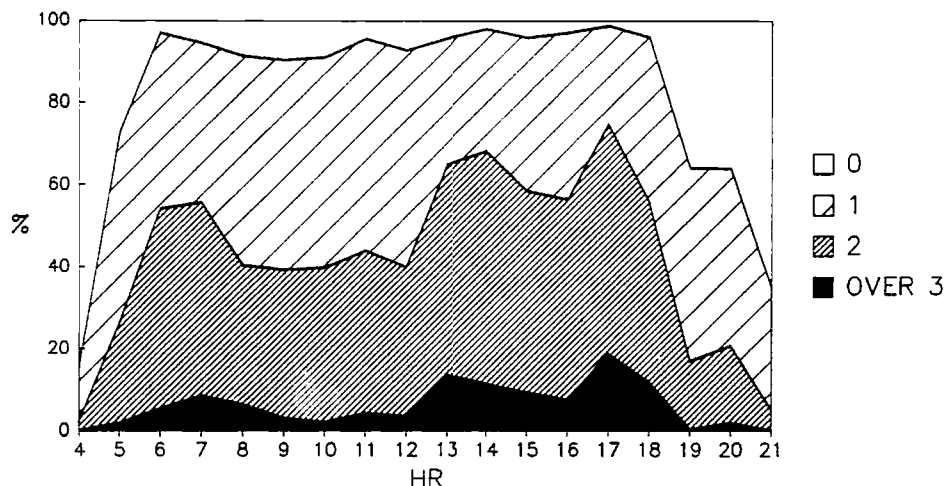


Fig. 6. Frequency of background speech.

II. Drift of Speech Form

The four speech types were discrete, but graded into one another. The Bongando people could change one type of speech to another within a single episode. I called this change "drift of speech form," or simply "speech drift." Drift between types A-C, B-C, C-D, and B-D was frequently observed.

The Bongando people perform the speech drift more smoothly than Japanese. This is illustrated by the following description. When the Bongando people in Groupe-ment de Wamba saw Japanese researcher calling one another at a distance, they said that the researchers spoke as if they were astonished at something. They felt that such calls were quite curious. It was because the Japanese regularly uttered loud voices only in special situations. When the Japanese changed speech from non-loud to loud, they had to get over a psychological threshold. The Bongando people felt such tension to be curious. They did not regard loud speech as being so special, and could shift their speech to it without any tension.

III. Description of Speech Types A, B, and D

1. Type A: Monologue, Crying, and Song

Type A (addressee-unspecified non-loud speech) includes monologues, crying, and songs of usual loudness. Children's speeches of this type were frequent (Fig. 7), but many of them were infants' crying. Adults' crying was not heard. Songs were heard rarely.

Speech Example 1 in Appendix 1 is a scene of monologue. It was recorded in front of the house of BH (man, about 65 years old). BH sat down on a low chair,

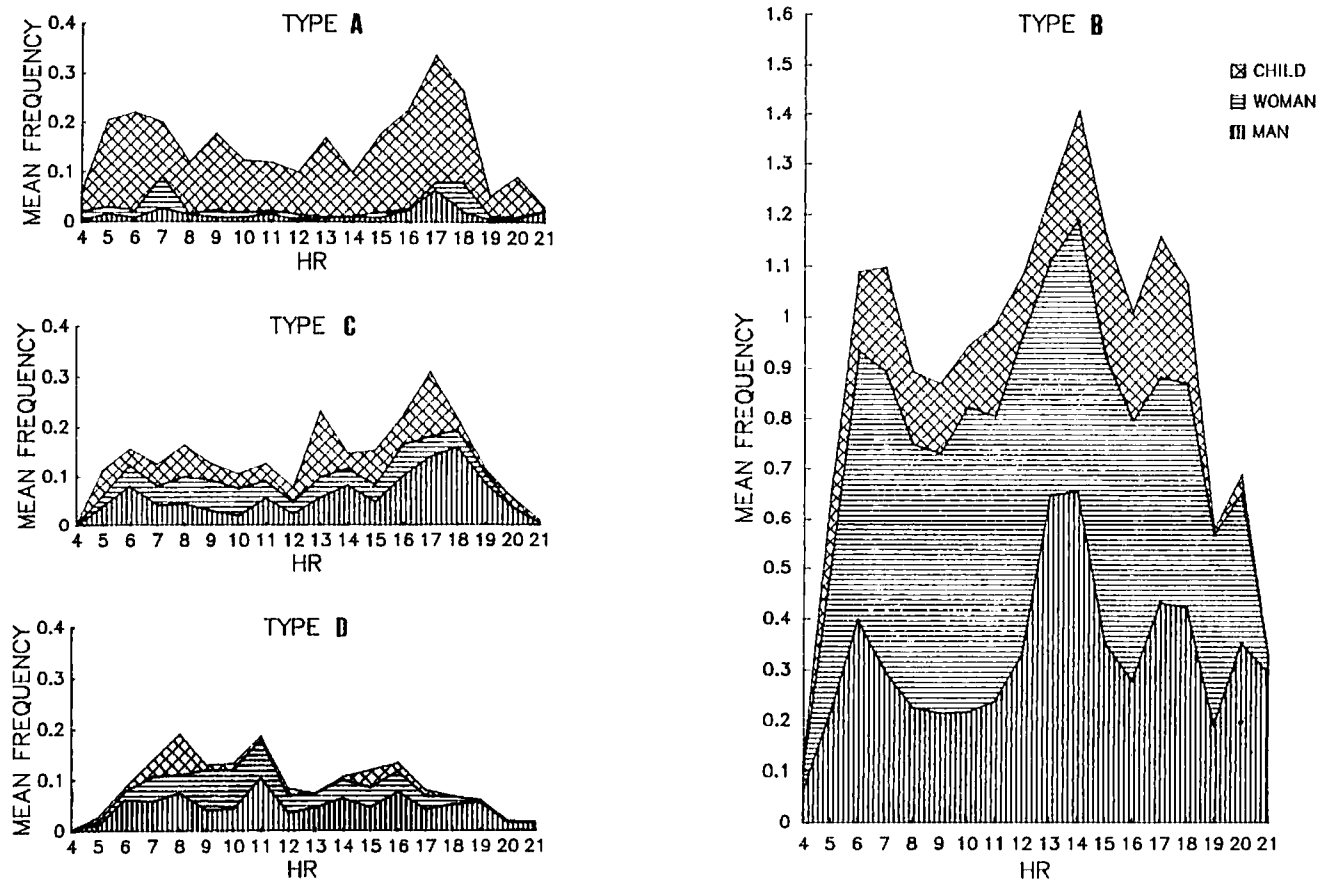


Fig. 7. Mean frequency of four speech types for each age-sex. Vertical axis shows the mean number of speech heard in a sampling window.

tearing branches to make a mat. There was no person near him, and his wife cooked about 15 m away from him. He specified no addressee for his speech. In fact, no response was uttered to his speech (lines 1–11 in Speech Example 1), and he did not set his face in any specific direction. First he expressed his displeasure of high contribution to the church. In the last part of this expression, the speech became loud with the speaker's excitement. He took a 50-second pause, and then complained to a chicken about its noise. After a 26-second pause, he asked his grandson to bring a bottle.

The "loud monologue" in the first expression is classified as AUL speech. Their monologue can easily change into AUL speech. It suggests that monologue and AUL speech differ only in their loudness. Also as seen in the lines 14 and 15, monologue and usual conversation can appear by turns.

2. Type B: Usual Conversation

Type B (addressee-specified non-loud speech) is usual conversation. The frequency of this type was prominently higher than that of other three types; i.e., most background speech was conversation of usual loudness (Fig. 7). Informant NL told me that he was able to understand the contents of about a half of such conversations from far away, if he concentrated on them.

Speech Example 2 in Appendix 1 shows the conversation scene in the kitchen of BL (woman, about 65 years old). The kitchen had no wall. Four women, BL, MJ (about 25 years old, BL's brother's daughter), KV (about 12 years old, BL's another brother's daughter's daughter), and an unidentified adult woman (denoted as AW) appears.

MJ and KV sat side by side, and cooked. BL sat near them. First, MJ and KV conversed about the cooking (lines 1–11 in Speech Example 2). KV asked MJ for some palm oil (11–13), but MJ jokingly asked for money in return (12–20). MJ and AW laughed at KV, saying ironically that KV had much money (21–27). KV replied playfully that she would run away from home (28–31). After that, the topic changed.

In the last part of this speech episode (23–30), the speeches became loud as the speaker became excited. Speeches of lines 23 and 25 can be classified as AUL speech, because the speakers apparently supposed that these speeches would be heard by other persons. Therefore the boundary between usual conversation and AUL speech is ambiguous. In other words, usual conversation was "semi-public" in the Bongando society.

Another character of this speech episode was frequent overlap of speeches. The speaker of the superimposed speech uttered it without considering the listeners. That is, such speeches were addressee-unspecified non-loud speeches (type A).

3. Type D: Long-Distance Conversation

Type D (addressee-specified loud speech) is conversation exchanged at a distance. It is possible that two or more persons sit side by side, and converse loudly. However, I classified such speech as AUL speech. Because the speakers seemed to expect that their speeches would be heard by many and unspecified persons.

The following example was reported by T. Furuichi, a researcher of pygmy chimpanzees of Wamba. When he and a trucker walked on the road, a man came from the opposite direction. The trucker and the man began to converse. They passed each other and gradually parted, but they did not look back, and continued to converse. Their speech did not become louder than before, even though Furuichi could hardly hear the man's speech. (Furuichi, 1988).

Exchange of greetings at a distance was seen more frequently. When the Bongando people sat in *lâánjá* or the house, they usually paid attention to the road. When an acquaintance passed, they greeted "X (passenger's name), ómooya! (X, you have come!)," and the passenger answered "Oo! (Yes!)." Such exchanges occur even at a distance of more than 50 m.

IV. Description of AUL Speech (Type C)

AUL speech included loud speech, sudden shout, and loud song. But the latter was rarely heard. Most of children's speeches were exclamations made in play. Speech of this type was heard 9.3% of the daytime (5:00–21:00), and 18.0% of the evening time (16:00–18:00) with its frequency peak. Men's speech was more frequent than women's (Fig. 7).

1. *Bonango*

The Bongando people utter a kind of AUL speech called *bonango/benango*. When I asked them the meaning of *bonango*, they explained that they utter it to notify or inform the villagers of something.⁽⁷⁾

Bonango is mostly spoken by adult men. Adult women may speak it only in their native *losombo*. Even a young person can speak it, if he/she is good at speaking. The speaker stands or sits in the *lâánjá*, and utters it in a loud voice. The facial expression of the speaker is rather cool, and he/she does not laugh. The loudest voice reaches 200–300 m, and the *bonango* sometimes continues for 30 minutes. Such *bonango* is frequent in the evening.

The following examples illustrate the characteristics of contents and style of *bonango*. When I went to a small village in the forest, the old chief of the village began to utter *bonango* in the evening. He spoke in the *losombo* hut, in which five men sat including me. It lasted about 20 minutes. His voice was so loud that even women in their own huts seemed to have heard it. In fact, they sometimes uttered exclamations. He spoke *bonango* in Lingala. Although I could not fully understand it at that time, I felt it was about an urgent and important problem. Later I asked informant LB the contents of the *bonango*. He explained to me that the topic was that "We should respect our parents."

In this case, the *bonango* was told in a serious atmosphere, but the content was quite conventional. It is not a rare case. The 68 *bonango* recorded by LB (see Appendix 2), included invitations or instructions such as "Let us go to repair a bridge tomorrow", informative speeches such as "A woman died in the hospital." However, I think that many of these *bonangos*' contents were already known to all beforehand

through usual conversations. Other kinds of *bonango* include complaint, such as "Goats went into the cassava field and ate the leaves," "My grandson refuses to go to the class," or "It is too hot." Complete repetition of preceding *bonango* is also seen. Thus *bonango* can be regarded as "formal announcement" of information or instructions which are already known.

Moreover, the term *bonango* has another nuance. The Bongando people communicate using the talking-drum: *lokoléInkolé* (Carrington, 1949), whistle, and whistle with cupped hands. The sound of the talking-drum travels up to 60 km, and is usually used to tell of a person's death, invitation to hunting, etc. Whistles do not carry so far, and are used to communicate in dense forest.

However, sometimes they utter private talks by the talking-drum or the whistle. For example, in an evening, I heard the sound "LHHLH, LHHLH" (L and H means low and high tone) of whistle with cupped hands. I could understand that it traced the sentences "Botótólotó! Botótólotó! (Nothing! Nothing!)." A man near me explained that a boy was expressing his hunger. Such talks are also called *bonango*. LB told me that when they heard the drum talking *bonango* such as "I am hungry!" or "It's always raining these days!", they concentrated on it only at the beginning. After understanding the content, they said "Oh, it's *bonango*," and stopped listening.

Thus, for the most part, *bonango* is not informative, although it is generally explained as being uttered to teach something.

Speech Example 3 shows a part of a *bonango*, which was recorded in the center of the *láníjá* of *losombo* Yoohanda. The speaker of the *bonango* was BH, the chief of the Yoohanda. There was nobody near him. He stood, and spoke loudly with exaggerated gestures. The contents of this speech were: "I gave my goat to one person, but he does not pay money." It was a personal problem of BH, but he uttered it as *bonango*. Moreover, I assume that this problem was already known everywhere in the village.

No verbal response was recorded to this *bonango*. In other words, no verbal response was the characteristic response. Generally the listeners do not show prominent responses to *bonango*. For example, it was frequently observed that people passed beside the person uttering *bonango* earnestly, completely regardless of the speaker. When they hear *bonango* in the house, at most they utter gentle laughter, and seldom begin to converse about it. They take an attitude of "ritual indifference" (Goffman, 1963).

In this *bonango*, pauses of more than one second were frequent. Such long pauses did not occur in their usual conversation. These pauses are a characteristic sign which distinguish *bonango* from usual conversation.

2. Other AUL Speeches

The Bongando people utter other kinds of AUL speech, which are less formal than *bonango*. Unlike *bonango*, most of them have no special Longando name, and are referred to only descriptively, e.g., "Átenda la nkele (He/she speaks with anger)." These speeches appear temporarily in episodes of speech types A, B, and D, and accounted for the majority of AUL speeches.

Besides such AUL speeches, I present three characteristic examples of AUL speech.

The following episode was reported by G. Idani, a researcher of pygmy chimpanzees. When he and a Bongando trucker walked in the primary forest, they encountered a middle-aged man who was sitting alone near the path, speaking loudly. The trucker did not inform the man of their approach. The man seemed not to be aware of their approach, because he was quite astonished at the encounter. Therefore when he spoke loudly, he was convinced that he was alone.⁽⁸⁾ This case suggests that the speakers of AUL speech do not necessarily expect that their speech is heard by others.

In the early morning or evening, some of the Bongando people suddenly utter a meaningless loud shout such as "A!" or "Waa!" They do not regard it to be abnormal, and call it *baasase/beasase* or *yasase/beasase*.⁽⁹⁾ They told about it as follows: (1) One sometimes shouts *baasase* when he/she responds to a distant incident by extra-sensory perception; e.g., one utters it in the village, when a game is caught in a trap which he set in the forest; (2) *Baasase* is shouted frequently on chilly days; (3) Witch doctor (*nkanga/nkanga*) often shouts *baasase*.

The Bongando people's songs are classified into two categories. One includes the songs sung in special situations such as epic talking or dance, and called *lémbol/njémbo*. The other includes the loud songs which are sung in daily activities such as walking along the forest paths, cutting trees to make a field, etc., and called *isémboltosémbo*. They resemble AUL speech, except that their contents are not grammatically structured. Songs in the forest inform others that the singer is there. Consequently they do not encounter suddenly. However, they do not sing only for this purpose. The people say that they sing at work to make their body vital, or simply for fun.

DISCUSSION

I. Origin of AUL Speech

The Bongando people can comprehend the distant non-loud speech. I assume that they can understand it only by the high/low tone, even when vowels and consonants are not clearly heard. Actually, Longondo is a tonal language, and the Bongando people can communicate even by the talking-drum, whistle, and whistle with cupped hands, by which only the sequence of high/low tone is uttered.

I suppose that AUL speech should have originated in tropical rain forest, the Bongando people's habitat. In the dense forest, only a loud voice is adequate for long-distance communication. I think tonal language, which can transmit information through the tone alone, was also developed in such circumstance. Probably it has become to be used in the village, and produced AUL speech.

II. "Castness" of AUL Speech

In this Section, I analyze the properties of AUL speech, and introduce a new concept named "castness" of speech. This concept characterizes AUL speech in social interactions.

1. Lack of "Organizing Devices" of Conversation

Conversation analysts have pointed out that the "organizing devices" are used in conversation, such as the turn-taking system, adjacency pairs (question-answer, greeting-greeting, etc.), and markers of entry into/exit from conversational interaction (Hudson, 1980). Human ethologists have also denoted various kinds of nonverbal communication, such as posture and facial expressions that are used in conversation (e.g., Raffler-Engel, 1980). These devices stabilize the conversational situation through the cooperation of the participants.

In AUL speech, some of these devices do not operate, and others operate at a lower level, as follows. (1) No turn-taking is seen in AUL speech,⁽¹⁰⁾ because the speaker utters arbitrarily without reference to others, and listeners maintain "ritual indifference." (2) Adjacency pair is not observed in AUL speech, because speech is unilateral. (3) Many AUL speeches begin and end with gradual speech drift, therefore markers of entry into, and exit from conversation do not occur. (4) The effectiveness of nonverbal communication is greatly attenuated, because listeners are usually remote from the speaker, and do not look at the speaker. So the listeners cannot see the details of the speaker's posture and facial expression.

Thus AUL speech does not fully provide organizing devices seen in conversation. The speaker and the listener do not sustain the conversational situation cooperatively. In other words, the speaker and the listener are "separate," from the interactional viewpoint.

2. Lack of Responsibility for "Speech Giving Act" and "Speech Listening Act"

Suppose that X told Y something in a conversation. In such a situation, X bears the responsibility for his speech, because it was clear that he gave that speech on his own responsibility. Here X achieved a kind of "speechact" (Searl, 1969). I name this kind of speech act "speech giving act." This act has two aspects. One is the fact that "the speaker gives the current speech" (I denote it Speech Giving Act 1; SGA1), and another is that "the speaker addressed the speech to the particular hearer(s)" (SGA2, Fig. 8).

Simultaneously, not only X but Y performed a certain social act. If Y said "I heard nothing" after X's speech, of course X could accuse Y saying "You did really hear my words!" It was because Y performed a social act by listening to X's speech. I call it "speech listening act." Also this act can be divided into two aspects, i.e., the fact that "the person heard the current speech" (SLA1), and that "the person focused attention on the speaker of current speech" (SLA2, Fig. 8). When emphasizing SLA1, one would accuse "You did really hear my *words!*," and when emphasizing SLA2, one would say "You did really hear *my words!*"⁽¹¹⁾

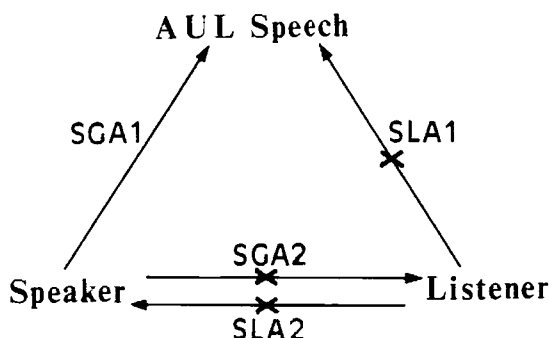


Fig. 8. Relations between speaker, hearer, and AUL speech. SGA and SLA mean Speech Giving Act and Speech Listening Act. Mark X means that the act represented by the arrow is not performed.

In the case of AUL speech, the person who speaks can usually be recognized. Hence SGA1 is certainly performed. However, AUL speech is not directed towards a specific listener. It is not certain that people actually listened to it, and that people actually paid attention to the speaker. Therefore SGA2, SLA1, SLA2 are not surely performed (Fig. 8).

3. "Castness" of AUL Speech

The interactional features of AUL speech analyzed in Sections II-1 and II-2 resemble "broadcasting." The broadcasting station omnidirectionally transmits the electric wave, and the listeners receive it only if they want to. Thus the verb "cast" seems to be suitable for describing AUL speech. AUL speech is "cast" by the speaker, and it is not certain that this speech is surely caught by others.

III. Social Use of "Castness"

As shown in the Appendix 2, some AUL speeches are used for the information transmission. However, on the other hand, the social use of its "castness" is also important in the verbal interaction of the Bongando. Not "being," but "lack" of social relevance between speaker, hearer, and AUL speech is used in several ways.

1. Expression of Opinion

First, I will discuss AUL speeches by which the speaker intends to express an opinion.

Sometimes *bonango* is used for expressions of complaint, such as "Goats went into the cassava field and ate the leaves," or "Someone stole the game caught in my trap." If such complaints were spoken face-to-face, the hearer(s) may assume that they are being called to account for the problem. But when complaints are spoken by

AUL speech, such doubt does not occur, because the complaints are not addressed to a particular person. Thus, using AUL speech, the speaker can complain indirectly, without hesitation, even when he is not certain who the goat owner is, or the thief of the game is.

In sum, AUL speech is used to express uncertain or groundless opinions without bearing responsibility.

2. Expression of Dignity and Accomplishing Feeling of Co-presence

Second, I discuss the situation in which only the fact that "AUL speech is uttered" is significant.

The Bongando people say "A man who cannot utter *bonango* well is not a true man." AUL speech is used to express their dignity. The *bonango* saying "We should respect parents" in the small village in the forest is a good example. Probably the old chief told such a true but harmless *bonango* in order to express his authority. Also the complete repetition of the preceding *bonango* has the same function.

In another report (Kimura, in preparation), I show that men and women of the Bongando seldom encounter one another in face-to-face situations. However, those who reside at a distance of 150–200 m are included in certain social interactions, in which greeting does not occur. I suppose the lack of greeting is mainly caused by AUL speech. Not the content of AUL speech, but only the fact that it is spoken/heard results in such a social situation.⁽¹²⁾

In these social uses of speech, the information content should not seriously be taken into account. AUL speech's "castness" is suitable for such purpose.

3. Concept Symbolization and Emotional Expression

Third, AUL speech which is supposed to be uttered only from the speaker's own necessity is analyzed.

Here I will use "monologue" for comparison. Literally, a monologue is uttered without assuming that there are any listeners; i.e., it is not spoken for information transmission or as a social act. I believe that one of its functions is to symbolize a concept. It is just like a memorandum written when one considers a future plan. Through symbolization, the speaker can manipulate concrete symbol, rather than an ambiguous concept. Some AUL speeches which I call "loud monologue" seem to have the same function.

The speaker of a monologue assumes that there are no listeners, and does not want the monologue to be confused with usual speech, which is used for transmitting information or conducting a speech act. On the other hand, the speaker of loud monologue avoids confusion using the "castness." Even though AUL speech is uttered loudly, its social influence is slight.

In addition, loud song and *baasase* are used for expressing emotion, or catharsis. I think that some of the grammatically structured AUL speeches are also uttered for such purposes. Even so, these speeches do not cause confusion because they are "cast."

IV. Meaning of "Castness" in Social Interaction

In the study of primate social interaction, it has been made clear that chimpanzees can perform complicated interactions, which can be described as "political" (de Waal, 1982). Such interaction systems are more complicated in human society. However, I believe that the more elaborate an interaction becomes, the more unstable it becomes.

I will illustrate this using a simple model. Not only humans but higher primates can predict their partner's response, before it happens (e.g., de Waal, 1982; Nishida, 1989). If so, then one can predict the response to the response, and response to that, and so on, like the distorted mirrors set against each other. If the series of prediction diverges, the behavior will not be determined. For example, one may hesitate to behave, thinking "If I do X, then he will do Y. It is not good, so I will not do X. But he would predict my prediction. If so, he will not do Y...."

However, in ordinary social interactions, such "evil infinity" does not occur. It is probably because we have the social devices to "cut" at some point in the prediction chain. Of course "social norm," studied in social anthropology, is one of such devices. By obeying the norm, one need not predict the chain of acts.⁽¹³⁾

"Castness" is another device which regulates the complicated web of social interaction. Perhaps one could not utter even one AUL speech, if one seriously considered the social reactions to it. Also one could not live peacefully in the village if one honestly replied to all of AUL speech. "Castness" is a device which stably places unrestrained AUL speech in the interaction system of the Bongando.

So far studies of social interaction have concentrated on ways in which it is successfully accomplished. In this report, I have shown that the mechanisms which restrain interactions from occurring are also indispensable in the highly organized society of humans.

V. Evolution of Human Verbal Interaction

Animals communicate by various media; voice, face and body expression, smell, and body contact. Language, which is generally quoted as a landmark between human and other animals, is based on the auditory sense. Our ancestors doubly segmented voice (voice to phoneme, and phoneme to morpheme), and opened the way for the development of the complicated information transmission system called language. Voice was selected as the medium probably because it was easily segmented.

Itani (1963) analyzed the vocal communication of Japanese monkeys. He classified utterances of Japanese monkeys by two criteria; one-to-many/one-to-one and strong emotion/calm emotion. He concluded that the utterances in the quadrant of one-to-one and calm emotion ("muttering") are used for regulating subtle social relations. He discussed that this category is related to human language. On the other hand, the quadrant of one-to-many and calm emotion ("calling") contains various styles of utterance, and are used for controlling troop movement and troop unification. However, this kind of utterance, which probably our ancestors also had, was

thrown away in the process of evolution, because the medium for long-distance communication turned from acoustic to visual (Itani, 1963).

In addition to Itani's discussion, voice, especially a loud one, has a property which is not suitable for one-to-one interaction. It spreads omnidirectionally, so the addressee of verbal communication can hardly be specified. Moreover, voice enters the ears whether one likes it or not, because the hearer cannot "shut the ears." The organizing devices of conversation work to compensate these properties of vocal sound. For example, turn-taking can be regarded as the chain of expressions that "I am responding to your speech," so the partners of the conversation are continuously confirming each other's interest.

The Bongando people's AUL speech is classified as a one-to-many loud utterance. Unlike conversation, AUL speech is not suitable for subtle one-to-one interaction. However, the Bongando people utilize AUL speech for other purposes mentioned above, such as manifesting their own opinion, expressing complaints, and accomplishing "feeling of co-presence."

As the media of interaction, speech has wide variety in style and social use. This study showed an example of a style (AUL speech) and its meaning ("castness"). They seem to be new subjects for the study of verbal interactions, which focused only a part of the variety of speech.

NOTES

- (1) Similar types of speech have been reported in some other African societies (Douglas, 1963; Marshall, 1976; Sugawara, in print), but have not been fully analyzed.
- (2) For more information, see Kimura (in preparation).
- (3) Longando words are denoted as follows. ① Although Longando has seven vowels, they are made simple into five in this article (see Appendix 1). ② High tone is denoted by "´." ③ The plural forms of Longando nouns are given (e.g., *losombolnsombo* = singular/plural) only at their first appearance. ④ When a Bongando noun is denoted as plural in the text, it is written as singular + "s" (e.g., *losombos*), for simplicity.
- (4) In this report, "speech" is used to mean the general act of speaking, and "conversation" is used to mean the systematic cooperative interchange of speech by two or more persons. Therefore category of "speech" includes that of "conversation."
- (5) Note that using this sampling method, not the speech types "spoken," but speech types "heard" in the village were analyzed.
- (6) I was impressed by the fact that the Bongando people's utterance penetrates further than that of Japanese, even when it was spoken not so loudly. Probably their elocution makes it possible.
- (7) In Lomongo, there is a noun *boango*, which probably has the same origin as *bonango* in Longando. Its meaning is "testament" (Hulstaert, 1957).
- (8) However, it is possible that the man spoke to the spirits of ancestors in the forest.
- (9) This noun also means usual yawn. Speech like *baasase* is also observed among the Efe Pygmy in the Ituri forest of Zaire (Sawada, 1990).
- (10) However, if such attitudes of the speaker and the listener are based on social agreement, the unilateral utterance of the speech could be regarded as a very long turn. Even so, the cooperative mood of conversation is greatly reduced, because in conversation such a

- mood results mainly from the systematic role exchange of the speaker and the listener.
- (11) SGA2 and SLA2 are partly sustained by the organizing devices of conversation and nonverbal communication.
 - (12) Sawada (1987) also pointed out that loud conversation of Efe Pygmy men has the same function.
 - (13) I presented another example of "cutting" the prediction chain in social interactions in a small island community in Japan. They stop considering polyadic social relations, which necessarily become complicated. They operationally confine their concern to dyadic relations, which are relatively simple (Kimura, 1987).

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Appendix 1. Speech Examples.

Vowels are indicated by "a," "e," "i," "o," "u," and "u." Tone is indicated by "ˊ" (high tone), no mark (low tone), "ˋ" (descent tone), and "ˊˋ" (ascent tone). Loudness is indicated by no mark (non-loud), underline (medium), and wave underline (loud).

The meaning of other marks are as follows. "->": continuity of one speech written in two lines. ".....": the speech which could not be comprehended clearly. "=": contact of two speeches. "()": length of pause in seconds.

The times of speech of every five seconds are indicated in the ruled lines.

In the translation, line number corresponds to that of transcription. Explanation of the content of the speech is in parentheses "()", and the supplement of the speech is in square brackets "[]".

Speech Example 1

22 December, 1988, A.M. 8:49-8:51

- 28 30
- 1 BH: bákútá bákútá bángoyála lôyi mbo (1.7) áángotsikélá ->
- 2 BH: likútá ásúmolaka penepene'a latsína (2.6) ma lini' ->
- 3 BH: imooyala mbó (1.8) bot'omókó ahuta itano (2.4) zaire ->
- 4 BH: ntúk'ihé l'itáno (2.0) koko nko'onó' ootw'émi lo'onó' ->
- 5 BH: okilí'óné (1.3) iintene'ono' falanga ámbéndé bámbéndá ->
- 6 BH: kilisa ekilése nyobéndá falanga má la'ato (4.2) latsína ->
- 7 BH: (1.4) ókó iyó aílákíálé nko mbo táhútaka nta'akútá'atano ->
- 8 BH: (1.3) koko nká'akútá'áhé (1.2) koko límooyálá nde mbo ->
- 9 BH: kombóláká ingéfiáká kombóláká ingéfiáká (1.2) óó (3.4) ->
- 10 BH: likambo liní'iyatsú iyó li'i (1.8) mm bóna'mí la'aliya ->
- 11 BH: (2.2)
(49.8)
51'11
- 12 BH: bekele áále nko l'óohóla nk'nk'oo oyatone nko toma áhana ->
- 13 BH: lókíná lchoso
(26.0)
40
- 14 BH: katoraván =otwéláké'olangí oó
15 QV: (.6)oó=

Translation

- 1 BH: money, money, they will be here tomorrow, and he will leave ->
- 2 BH: money for me, he told me [the problem of contribution] recently because it (the contribution of church) ->
- 3 BH: becomes as follows; one person pays five, ->
- 4 BH: twenty-five Zaire (currency unit of Zaire). And from the time when I was born ->
- 5 BH: on the earth, I have never seen such a collection of money as they collect. ->
- 6 BH: The ch. church collects money from people. Because ->

- 7 BH: they have done [as such] since old times. We have paid five Makuta (old currency unit of Zaire) ->
- 8 BH: and two Makuta. And the problem is as follows; ->
- 9 BH: Collect [the money the people]: Put in! Collect! Put in! Oh! ->
- 10 BH: The problem with all of them [is always as such]. Mm, I and Malia. (Malia is BH's sister. It means that the problem is very serious just like the problem that he and his sister cannot marry with.)
- 11 BH:
(49.8)
- 12 BH: Eggs (chickens) should only go out, and only peck the food, and then they does not utter
- 13 BH: other noises.
(26.0)
- 14 BH: Quatre-Vingts (BH's grandson)! Bring the bottle.
15 QV: What?

Speech Example 2

- 15 December 1988, A.M. 11:36-11:37
36 40
- 1 MJ: ->
2 KV: bóyákaa (1.8) bóyak'é (2.3) bóyák'en'eyali ->
45
- 3 MJ: okálíngá tóma nányi oongotsi ->
4 KV: ótákalíngakáhe ndé (.3) ehéé 50
- 5 MJ: ok'emi mpoosilia lo'okolo'ómoko bauta'amiinda'ahasiliama ->
55
- 6 MJ: kóukou (.9) lāhumba máho mbal'isaso (.4) ee koko ->
7 KV: (.9) yéé
- 8 MJ: ε óókia yóyi nanyi yomb'óókia nko nsóle oolé ->
9 KV: koko o onyi okia 00
- 10 MJ: nk'ole =la ndé la'ááse la mbókfa nsole ->
11 KV: (.5) iyee= (1.0) nóngila ->
05
- 12 MJ: íf mpákilél'ée =íf mpákiléla áá áhumbaki ->
13 KV: nd'itáte má'á (.4) yá= ->
10
- 14 MJ: tokotok'ee o omééhélie'aná'ák'ee'ángoy'ee la'ako
15 KV: ... eh eh (1.7)
15
- 16 MJ: =ee hólíák'én'ee nkoto njómi nko ->
17 KV: éyalake nóngohumba lá'aase=
- 18 MJ: lakilel'én'ee ndambo
19 KV: (1.4) ee ->
20 AW: (.8) hólíák'in'ée nkoto njomi
20
- 21 MJ: (.7) iy'oo óha'a falánga iy'oliyák'ée'a tóma nde ->
22 KV: el'íkó meya
25
- 23 MJ: boingó'ol'ón'ó la'a likóto yá haháhaháhá boingó'óla lini ->
24 AW:
25
- 25 MJ: likóto'á falánga liní kum'on'íya ndá'ato falángp'one
26 AW: =endé ->

27 AW: atsúa tóná'ndé máko asikí ósómá tona tók'ende=
 28 KV: =énakaá iya ->
 29 KV: íité bot boto ákótsuá endé ámpókótókólía mál'emí íí ->
 30 KV: ápootsuél'éndé ntomo=
 31 MJ: =atsuá'a koko to to to.. koo'aha'aoyi'a..

Translation

(Long line is divided by dotted lines.)

1 MJ:
 2 KV: They come, they come, they come to the place I stay (she
 MJ: ->
 KV: sings a catholic hymn). ->
 3 MJ: What kind of food
 4 KV: Why didn't you cook [cassava leaves] ?
 MJ: to cook? [Even] my food which is not good [vegetable?] ->
 KV: Ehee!
 5 MJ: I don't eat [all of them] in one day. Palm oil [of mine] is
 MJ: not finished ->
 6 MJ: at once. I cook it (palm oil) at three times. Yes, sure.
 7 KV: Yee!
 8 MJ: What do you sniff? If you sniff only
 9 KV: Then is that seasoned well?
 MJ: flavor of food, you only ->
 10 MJ: eat it. You eat it with water and sniff flavor.
 11 KV: Iyee! I will drop ->
 12 MJ: I don't drop it for you.
 13 KV: some [palm oil of you] here. Ya!
 MJ: I don't drop it. You cooked ->
 KV: ->
 14 MJ: your food. You know the way of you. You will invite them
 15 KV: Eh. Eh.
 MJ: (KV's lovers(?) to give these foods).
 16 MJ: Pay your ten
 17 KV: I leave this problem. I will cook it with water.
 MJ: Zaire, then ->
 KV:
 18 MJ: I will drop some [palm oil] for you.
 19 KV: Well, ->
 20 AW: Pay your ten zaire.
 21 MJ: You have money, by which you eat foods, ->
 22 KV: where is it?
 23 MJ: because your purse is big, hahahahahahaha (laughter), because
 24 KV:
 MJ: your ->
 25 MJ: purse of money is big, and she (KV) has stolen other person's
 25 MJ: money like that.
 26 AW: She ->

- 27 AW: goes there with her money. She surpasses in buying her goods
 AW: [by the money].
 28 KV: Listen, ->
 29 KV: I say that, a man, a man who goes, he said to me that I ->
 30 KV: go for him, which is not errand.
 31 MJ: Go, .. it is the problem of

Speech Example 3

22 January 1989, A.M. 10:02-10:03

(Record of 02-06 second is lost.)

- 48 50
 1 BH: baotamba ntāa ena'mi (1.3) koko ende ayoōtēka koko emi ->
 2 BH: emiamēnē lōvoohōlia l'ekō kōko laākinā (1.7) koko ->
 3 BH: lōviil'ite kok'opūtākē kok'atāpūtā (1.4) koko end' ->
 4 BH: aombil'emi āte oo ōmōombil'emi oot'ii mooyakā ntaa en'fē ->
 5 BH: oō ōyālēkā ii njālēkā/...../ē (1.3) on'ōmōnyī (1.2) ->
 6 BH: on'ōmōnyī nk'āata kok'on'ōmōnyī a a avanola (3.4) ->
 7 BH: njēlēlēhē (1.7) Baōohēnda Aōhenda (1.5) ēē la'Atolota ->
 8 BH: eki ātēndākā mā yanānyī latēndākī (1.3) ma lōsombō ->
 9 BH: lōnā'A lōnā'Atolota (1.2) koko nk'end'imelia (2.2) ->
 10 BH: kum'emi lōoyuwol'ite ēka ntaa ēko oo ohāhūte ndē koko ate ->
 11 BH: ii mpaāhūte ntaa

Translation

- 1 BH: They took my goat. And he (one of them) sold it, and I, ->
 2 BH: myself, tell [the people] about it (the problem of goat),
and again ->
 3 BH: I did, I said, "Pay [money of goat]," but he didn't pay [the
money]. And he ->
 4 BH: said to me, "You said to me," he said, "I kill your goat, ->
 5 BH: you eat [it], I eat [it]." Another one (goat), ->
 6 BH: another one, if he get another one, h.. h.. he [will] answer
[about this problem]. ->
 7 BH: I invited Baohenda [today]. [I said,] "Baohenda, you and
Atolota, ->
 8 BH: in what lineage he (Atolota) told [about the problem of
goat]?" [He answered,] "I told at the lineage ->
 9 BH: of A... of Atolota." And he (Baohenda) admitted ->
 10 BH: when I asked him, "Don't you pay for that goat?" then he
said, ->
 11 BH: "I don't pay for the goat."

Appendix 2. Contents of *Bonangos*.

These speeches were spoken loudly, and the addressee could not be confirmed. The profiles of the speakers are not given here. Usually they were old men.

Date	Time	Summary of the Content
3/8	4:53	Ndongo-Elonga is missing in the forest. Let's go look for him.
	6:09	(The same contents were spoken by another speaker.)
	8:35	(The same contents were spoken by another speaker.)
	8:48	(Ndongo-Elonga returned to the village and told how he lost his way in the forest.)
3/9	3:30	Beat the drum and dance <i>bondeyo</i> (a name of dance).
	9:33	Why don't they (maybe the people from the plantation) buy our coffee?
	18:31	Let's go to repair the path to the Luo River.
3/11	5:02	I am looking for my goat.
	5:26	Let's have a ceremony for clearing away the impurity of our relative's death.
	18:00	Why don't we go net-hunting?
3/16	5:03	Respect the work of the police.
3/17	16:04	The shop owner of Boliaka (the name of the plantation company) wants a shopman.
3/20	7:13	Who stole game from my trap?
	17:17	The person who loses one's authority. is disliked by the people.
3/21	4:55	Let's open a large coffee field.
3/25	15:01	(About the problem between the speaker and another man.)
3/27	9:21	(How his first wife died.)
4/4	6:03	(About the thief who stole the speaker's coffee.)
4/5	6:35	Let's gather money for Loleko-Afokasu, whose wife has died.
4/8	5:23	My grandson refuses to go to the class.
4/9	5:07	Let's go net-hunting to catch a blue-duiker which was seen last night.
4/10	5:02	A person of localité Yangonde killed himself in the forest.
4/13	6:03	Let's gather food for the soldiers.
4/14	8:02	(The speaker asked the people to work <i>salongo</i> . forced labor ordered by the public office.)
	15:06	Goats went into the cassava field and ate the leaves.
4/16	5:41	(A female speaker told how her husband refused her.)
4/17	4:50	My sister had 2,500 Z stolen from her. I will curse the thief, if he won't return it.
4/20	5:15	Let's go to the forest of Wamba to catch a pygmy chimpanzee.
4/23	17:02	(The speaker told how he fought with a bushpig.)
4/24	4:58	(The speaker spoken about how to be polite in the famiy.)
4/28	11:06	It's too hot today!
	12:29	(The female speaker was angry with the fickleness of her husband.)

(Appendix 2. cont.)

-
- 4/28 20:32 (The speaker told how he killed a civet by bow and arrow.)
- 4/29 5:20 Let's go to *salongo* to repair the bridge of Kohola River.
- 17:26 (The speaker described a situation of buying coffee.)
- 4/30 6:15 (The speaker explained how the nephews of *losombo* Yongolo make their joking-relations.)
- 5/2 5:22 Let's kill the mad dog.
- 5/3 5:20 Shut goats up in the house, or they will eat cassava leaves in my field.
- 18:56 Leela-Mbonjo lost his way in the forest.
- 5/4 4:58 Let's go into the forest to look for Leela-Mbonjo.
- 5/27 6:02 A goat ate cassava leaves in my field!
- 5/28 5:00 Game was stolen from the trap set in the forest.
- 5/30 6:35 Let's cut grass near the houses.
- 6/9 5:35 Let's prevent the goats from going to eat cassava leaves.
- 6/10 7:36 (The speaker told the women who will dance *botembe* to do well.)
- 6/11 11:38 My grandson is a bad child. He is a thief!
- 6/13 6:42 Let's go to hunt the gazelle which I saw in the forest near the village.
- 6/16 5:46 Let's gather food for nurses taking care of leprosy patients.
- 6/21 6:38 Wives of my *losombo* are impolite!
- 6/22 11:04 It is always rainy. A storm will come.
- 19:35 Let's go to the meeting at Yangonde the day after tomorrow.
- 6/25 19:48 Don't be disorderly in the *lokenya* dance.
- 6/26 5:21 (The same contents were spoken by the same speaker.)
- 6/29 5:48 (The speaker told about his journey to the lineage Ya'a mponongoli.)
- 7/5 6:06 Let's go hunting monkeys in the forest near the village.
- 17:46 Let's go to the *salongo*.
- 19:38 (The same contents were spoken by another speaker.)
- 7/6 8:59 (The speaker spoken about the sharing of the goods of the deceased lyoko.)
- 9:05 (The speaker told how his wife tried to kill him by a curse.)
- 15:28 A woman died at the hospital of Yalisele.
- 15:28 (The same contents were spoken by another speaker.)
- 7/7 13:06 (The speaker greeted the people at the beginning of the ceremony of drinking sugarcane wine.)
- 7/8 17:18 (The speaker abused another person who made a complaint to the police.)
- 7/10 18:52 Let's go to sign the papers of *salongo*.
- 7/11 6:27 Let's gather money for Loleko-Afokasu, whose wife has died.
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